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The War and Slavery; and their Relations to each other.

A

DISCOURSE,

DELIVERED IN

THE OLD SOUTH CHURCH,

READING, MASS.

DECEMBER 28, 1862.

BY REV. WILLIAM BARROWS.

PUBLISHED BY REQUEST.

BOSTON:
JOHN M. WHITTEMORE & CO., 114 WASHINGTON STREET.
1863.

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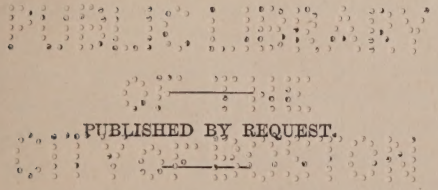

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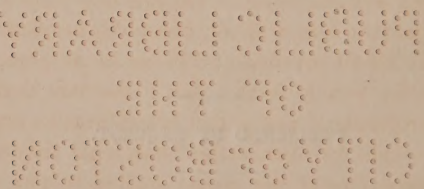
Nov. 30, 1894

"REVEREND SIRS:—When we contemplate the friendship and assistance our ancestors, the first settlers of this province (while overwhelmed with distress), received from the pious PASTORS of the churches of Christ, who, to enjoy the rights of conscience, fled with them into this land, then a savage wilderness, we find ourselves filled with the most grateful sensations. And we cannot but acknowledge the goodness of Heaven in constantly supplying us with preachers of the gospel, whose concern has been the *temporal and spiritual* happiness of this people.

"In a day like this, when all the friends of civil and religious liberty are exerting themselves to deliver this country from its present calamities, we cannot but place great hopes in an order of men who have ever distinguished themselves in their country's cause; and do, therefore, recommend to the ministers of the gospel in the several towns and other places in the colony, that they assist us * * * * by *advising the people of their several congregations*," etc.

"*Resolved*, That the foregoing Address be presented to all the ministers of the gospel in the Province."—*First Provincial Congress of Massachusetts*, 1774.



DISCOURSE.

MATTHEW XVI. 3.

CAN YE NOT DISCERN THE SIGNS OF THE TIMES?

"THE signs of the times" are the providences of God. They are his purposes wrought out into human history, and his plans foreshadowed by human movements. These signs God gives singly and collectively. Each year they constitute a volume, a divine annual, of new and unwritten revelation. We are just now receiving another of these volumes at the divine hand. Among "the signs of the times" which it embraces, are certain marked events in our national history for another year, our present condition and threatening future. These "signs," of a national import, I propose as our lesson for this occasion. My theme, therefore, is,

THE WAR AND SLAVERY; AND THEIR RELATIONS TO EACH OTHER.

The progress of this war has been developing new light on our relations to foreign nations, and on the real point or points at issue between the North and the South. On this new light I now propose to say some things that you will all, probably, be glad to hear, and some other things that I presume it will not be so popular for me to say, as profitable for you to hear. But it has ever been a principle with me, in my professional and public utterances, to say what I suppose my hearers ought to hear, rather than what they would like to hear. If other ministers of the gospel incline to put their present popularity before the permanent profit and prosperity of their society, state, or country, I do not incline to follow them. I both pity and abhor the man, in a pulpit, who reminds you of the very gracious and accommodating clerk behind the counter, saying, "What would you like to-day?"

I am painfully aware that I am about to say some things that you will be sorry to hear me say; yet things, as I think, that your chil-

dren and mine will be sorry were not said earlier, and more abundantly, and with more saving effect.

THE PEOPLE ARE IN A MOOD TO HEAR SOMETHING NEW AND TRUER.

The public mind is fast coming into a mood to believe that we are somewhere laboring under a great mistake. It is felt to be a most expensive mistake as to wealth and public industry, in the avocations of peace, and the multitude of men, and the terrible sacrifice of life. Some fix the mistake in one thing, and some in another. In this state of feeling, there is a growing willingness to hear something possibly truer. I feel the need of some profounder thinking, by our leading men and by the controlling masses, than we have been having on the excited platform and in the boisterous harangue. If ever a nation was called of God to review its steps and revise its position with an awful calmness, we now are. Else we may throw away this nation, on a theory three, or five, or thirty years old. And in these hurrying times, when we are making history so fast, five years are more than a generation. The opinions of three years ago are half a century old, and perhaps obsolete. If, then, I state opinions, in the deep convictions of the duty I owe to a Christian nation, and to the very cause of Christianity itself, and opinions shaped by three years' residence in the slave States, that do not coincide with yours, I ask only the forbearance that is due to any earnest and profound thought, in this hour of our country's extreme peril.

SHALL DISCUSS SLAVERY ONLY IN ITS RELATIONS TO THE WAR.

And here I may as well add another preliminary remark and word of caution. I am about to speak more or less of Slavery. But it is not my purpose now to examine and treat of the demerits, evils and sin of the system. I mean to speak of it only as related to the war, and so unfold the policy I think we should pursue toward it while waging the war. So far as I speak of it, I intend to do it under this question: How shall we treat slavery, under the rebellion, so as soonest and best to put down the rebellion and restore the majesty of our Government. If, then, I do not say as much on the curse of slavery, and on its abolition, as some may wish or expect, let it be remembered that my question confines me to speak of slavery only as related to the war, and our national policy toward it in that respect.

If, after this explanation and limitation of my theme, I do not say, on some other feature or relation of slavery, what some may wish, and so be called by some unpopular name or epithet, it will be a matter of regret to me, though of no serious moment. The time was when I was sensitive about such treatment, but it was a time nearer to my

childhood. It was, you will remember, no popular remark at the time for me to make, when our war opened, and sixty and ninety days were set for its conclusion, that it would take three years or more from the election of our present Chief Magistrate. I think that no one has lately found fault with me for that saying. I was once derided, with a great many wiser and better men, for trying to "save the Union." Still I kept on in my humble and quiet way, and now I have eight hundred thousand fighting men, and twenty millions of private citizens in my "Union-saving party." Calling names because one does not agree to your policy is the short logic, and very short-lived, of the men of few facts and feeble reasons. An honorable opponent will reply by arguments instead of epithets; and a man who is right, can afford to wait till the hard names applied to him are forgotten.

SLAVERY ITSELF, AND BY ITSELF.

As to slavery itself, and aside from the war, such are its evils in my estimation, and so anxious should we be for its abolition, that I think all the Christian energies of this nation should be bowed to the task of removing it in the speediest and best possible way. As I believe in the gospel, I believe it cannot and ought not to stand before it.

POLITICAL PREACHING.

Some one may think I am meddling with politics, and taking them into the pulpit. It is possible. Politics sometimes become so interwoven with the themes and works of practical Christianity, that when they are taken into the pulpit, politics will follow. But in all seriousness, what is practical Christianity, if it has not something to say on this vast expenditure of treasure, this calling away of our husbands and sons, and fathers and brothers, this dwarfing of Christian enterprises and filling of hospitals, and this making so many fair fields a Golgotha? Must the life-blood of a Christian nation be drained off at every vein, and the pulpit have nothing to say about it? May the destiny of a great Christian Republic be in peril, and monopolized by the caucus, the platform, and the legislative hall? And may the Christian ministry come no nearer to the war in their professional ministrations, than to preach funeral sermons for our slain, and offer prayer for their widows and orphans? Men do not mean so much as this, when they object to "political preaching" on the war. They mean only that the pulpit must not speak against their peculiar views. It is not political, unless against their opinions. This is not generous.

I have said that there are signs of the times, domestic and foreign, as related to the war. Sometimes Providence shows a sign by creating a fact, and sometimes by simply uncovering and revealing a preëxist-

ing one. It has shown a "sign" by this latter process, in our foreign relations. That sign is the revelation of

THE ANTI-SLAVERY OF THE ENGLISH NATION.

We have been for many years under the teaching, if not belief, that the Christian world is opposed to slavery. This has been said, and by many supposed to be the settled conviction, of the leading nations now on the stage. Especially have we been instructed to attribute this feeling to Great Britain. Philanthropy and Christianity have been regarded as so combined there, that an American could not travel in those islands without being under a silent if not uttered and pointed reproach. If he would stand on the platform of Exeter Hall, he must first expurgate himself from the sin of slavery; if he would preach the gospel in an English pulpit, he must first say that he is ashamed of his nationality; if he would sit in an Evangelical Alliance of all Christendom, he must first break faith and oath with one-half the Union of States from which he hailed; if he would be the guest of some feudal Lord or Duchess, he must first say what ought to blister the lips of an American when he utters it.

We, a simple folk, were told to take this as evidence that the millennium was at the door, with England at the lead, carrying in India, the East India Company, and all the Chinese whom she was sanctifying by her opium war. Indeed, we were hurried up by the assurance that the millennial door might be closed on us and we left out wholly, because of slavery. So was England pressing her "eternal" principles to crush "the sum of all villanies," and hastening the march of Christian and philanthropic progress in the nineteenth century.

A change comes over us. The slaveholding States of our Union enter into a huge revolt and rebellion, that they may separate themselves from the National Government, and found a new and separate one, whose very foundations are, by their confession, to be African bones. What a noble opportunity for English philanthropy to speak out on American slavery! She does stir, in court and cabinet. To assure us of her hostility to a slaveholders' rebellion, and of all the moral and physical aid she can give and we wish, now to make an end of the vast sin? Not at all; but to be in haste to acknowledge this nascent slave empire as "belligerents," and so put them on a good fighting basis. We arrest slave ambassadors and dispatches on one of her decks. Does she wink at the irregularity, that she and we together may strike an enormity? Not at all. Arsenals, dock-yards and the royal navy are astir, and Canada bristles with thousands of new bayonets, that slavery may ride the sea wherever "Britannia rules the wave." We blockade slave-ports to cripple a system of iniquity that

seeks to renew its youth in the new crime of rebellion and separation. Does England remember her own antecedents, and allow us to adopt them; or, considering the great moral stake, and the great good we have an opportunity of doing for anti-slavery, does she allow us to make precedents? Not at all; the English lion growls that we should use the law of nations to deliver the African lambs that he has so long, and so deeply, and so cheaply pitied. So intense had English desire been to "wipe out" what she esteemed the foulest blot on the century, and so usher in the millennium, that we looked to see everything English give the cold hand and a stern eye to anything favoring the slave rebellion. But lo! the current of her feeling and activity is found to run quite the other way. A new sign of the times, indeed, and easily discerned! Our Government utters the word "Emancipation," and in such circumstances that we could suppose the English would hail it as the one word of the nineteenth century. Does she compute at once and proclaim the number of "chattels," made men by *the* word? She only tells the world, in doleful tones, how many spindles are stopped at Manchester! We gain a noble victory, over rebel slaveholders, and the first English comment is — the high price of cotton!

> "Slaves cannot breathe in England; if their lungs
> Receive our air, that moment they are free;
> They touch our country, and their shackles fall.
> That 's noble, and bespeaks a nation proud
> And jealous of the blessing."

"That 's noble" — in a book, and there are some other things to be put in the book of history, not so "noble." Is it not time for some English house to issue a new and expurgated edition of Cowper, bringing it *down* to their present times.*

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* We admit that in the present posture of affairs, if England allows shipment of the munitions of war and other supplies of aid and comfort to a Union, she must also to a Confederate port, since the Confederates are acknowledged as "belligerents," and so have a status to demand such comity. But who elevated mere rebels to the advantageous position of "belligerents," and so gave them so much vantage-grouud? We also concede that England had the law on her side in the Trent affair. But cannot nations as well as men wink at the irregular achievement of a great good, when they wish to see the good done? If, in the chase, a polar bear take refuge on the quarter-deck of Dr. Kane's vessel, and the Esquimaux hunter follows him up, the Doctor has doubtless the law of nations on his side to order the hunter off and demand an apology. But if he exercises all these rights, and lands the bear safely on some iceberg, the suspicion will arise that, aside from questions of dignity and law, there was a pleasant understanding between him and the bear.

And very like it will be but just to distinguish between the sympathies of the English Government, and the sympathies of English anti-slavery, in regard to ourselves in this struggle. Credit is doubtless due to the latter from us, even though we may esteem their feeling as better than their judgment, in respect to our affairs.

SLAVERY IS NOT THE MAIN CAUSE OF THE WAR.

It is the popular impression that slavery is the cause of the rebellion, and that the present conflict, in its last analysis, is a conflict between freedom and slavery. So it is said, If there had been no slavery, there would have been no war; and if slavery is done away, the war will cease.

I think the cause lies deeper. Thirty years' talking on the vast curse of slavery—and we have never overestimated it—has made the popular impression that any great national evil, among us, can spring from nothing but slavery. This is a popular delusion. For there have been civil wars and revolutions when there was no slavery for a cause. So this one may spring from another cause. The conflict, so far as labor is concerned, lies not, I think, between free and slave labor, but between the products of the two. Ours is a manufacturing, theirs is an agricultural interest. We both wish foreign trade. But national legislation that will protect the one, will expose the other. They wish to sell high and buy cheap. We wish to do the same. But what one section wishes to sell, the other wishes to buy, and *vice versa*. If Congress protects Southern products by a duty on the same when imported, it makes those articles higher for us; if it protects our manufactures by a duty on the same when imported, it makes them higher for the South. Hence there is a contest, not between free and slave labor, but between the products of the two. No amount of fighting will adjust that difficulty. For it is a difficulty inherent in our differences of latitude, and, consequently, of natural products. Freeing the slave will be no remedy, since the products of the two sections of country will remain the same. So, after all, legislation, and not the sword, must settle it, so far as products and prices are concerned. Change all the slave to free labor to-day, and we are just as much at variance on this part of our difficulty. The idea, therefore, that the removal of slavery will make us one, is a delusion. Such a remedy does not strike deep enough.

SLAVERY A MEANS, NOT A CAUSE OF THE WAR.

I agree that the South has made the slavery question the ostensible cause of the rebellion. But only because it was the most available question on which they could raise an issue and make an appeal to arms. No one thing would so readily and totally consolidate them in this struggle. So I doubt not they rejoice that we have made so much of slavery, and are joining issue with them on it, rather than on the rebellion itself. They cannot struggle for independence with half the force with which they can rally to fight emancipation. It is as the doubling of their army, if it can be believed through the South

that this is a war for emancipation. So when our public men mention slavery and emancipation ten times, and rebellion but once, they render good recruiting service for the Southern army. At the same time we are pressing a measure that is in no way adapted to remove our difficulties, even if perfectly successful, and every slave freed. The philosophy of the caucus and the platform and the politician does not appreciate our difficulties.

OTHER CAUSES.

There is another cause of the rebellion, lying far deeper than slavery, and of which indeed slavery is but a fruit. The type of Southern civilization is feudal and mediæval, and so is averse to republicanism. It is in the Colonial blood of the South, being more Norman than Saxon, to have a government of aristocracy, oligarchy, or monarchy. The temper and preference of the South do not favor democracy and the masses. A common and equal interest for all the whites, as our common school system, cannot be made popular there with the governing class. Their feelings partake more of the families of the lords and barons of ante-colonial times, of which so many of the Southern colonists were offshoots. So they have little sympathy with the genius of our Government, as a Government of democracy and equality, according to our Northern interpretation and use of it. They spurn vulgar contact with the great working class. So Roger Sherman, who left a shoemaker's bench for a seat in Congress, was sneered at by Randolph for having worn a leather-apron. The answer he returned was most fitting. This Southern feeling has been very strong, and one of the strongest elements in producing the rebellion. They have long wished a government separate from our Northern theory and practice of fraternity and equality; which feeling the removal of slavery cannot remove, making them homogeneous and cordial with us. It is with them an inbred and hereditary national characteristic, and cannot be wisely ignored or slighted, while we attempt to conquer a peace and restore amity.*

NEW LIGHT ON AN OLD QUESTION.

As the war has progressed, we have progressed in our knowledge of the slave, his condition, his relations to the war, his wishes, and his probable future. Concerning him there has been a general disappointment, and this has been joyful or sad, according to the previous

* Says the Richmond Enquirer: "The experiment of universal liberty has failed; the evils of free society are insufferable; free society is impracticable in the long run; it is every where starving, demoralized and insurrectionary."

theories of men and the type of their philanthropy. In all this terrible struggle, the slaves have been *strangely quiet*. This cannot have arisen from ignorance of national policy and acts, North and South. They have probably been as well informed of the leading measures and movements of the two parties, as the people on our northern and western borders. The causes of their quiet, as from long personal observation it seems to me, are three. It is well that they be profoundly regarded, for the double reason that they will be powerful for a long time to come, and because a certain stamp of popular feeling has forced the slave question into a position of undue prominence and importance in this war. The slaves are in a position to create great uneasiness in the Southern mind, and so draw largely from their military force in the field; and they have had the favorable opportunity to combine and rise in large sections and masses. But neither of these things have they done. The number of contrabands is exceedingly small, when we consider how many were abandoned of their masters, how many were intentionally permitted to become fugitives that they might act as spies, and how many more might have escaped if they had been inclined. But I referred to three causes of their quiet.

THEY ARE POSSESSED OF WONDERFUL CONTENTMENT BY NATURE.

They have little of the uneasiness of English and French and Spanish blood. The idea of improvement is a very tardy one with the African. His wants are few and simple, and he does not live much in the past or the future. Good-natured, easy, indolent, he is averse to change, even for the better. Toil and struggle, specially dangerous struggle, he shrinks from. These are characteristics of the race, and they have been intensified by the degrading and iniquitous system of slavery under which they have been drilled and borne down for centuries. It is one of the curses of slavery, which we are slow to perceive, that it kills out the ambition, the spirit, the manhood of a race. It reduces the human and develops the animal qualities. Not that the Africans have not capacity. I think they have; and I doubt not the tide will yet turn in the destinies of mankind, when Africa will fill a prominent place in the civil and social and moral geography of the world.

THE CONDITION OF THE SLAVE IS MORE TOLERABLE THAN WE HAVE SUPPOSED.

Particularly, I mean, in those features of his case by which he might be goaded to the desperate hazard of an insurrection. I ask attention to this distinction. His mental, moral, social and civil

degradation, we cannot probably over-estimate. It is beyond the reach of conception. No man, I think, learns throroughly to appreciate and hate slavery till he has lived in the miserable and terrible exhibitions of it. But this very degradation is in itself quieting. It manufactures an indifference to one's human destiny, except so far as the physical and the animal are concerned. But in these latter, the condition of the slave is more tolerable, I say, than we have supposed. The scant feeding, over-working, and bodily tortures are far less among the mass of slaves, than we have been taught to believe. We have not been in a mood to receive average and historical statements on these points. We have not allowed a fair statement of fact. It has not been popular to make it. It is not now a popular thing to correct our mistake. The romance of slavery, the thrilling fiction, with a few extreme facts wrought in, we have insisted should be taken as the candid history.* Here we have deceived ourselves, and the quiet of the slaves through all these opportunities to rise or escape, is showing us our mistake. And now our unwarranted dependence on them shows our mistake to be a most expensive one. The barbarism of slavery is not what rare cases and glowing rhetoric have taught us to believe. Had the physical sufferings of the slaves been what was popular belief of them here three years ago, no power, no hazard could have kept them from rising during the so tempting occasion of the last two years. The South would have been made as the valley of the sons of Hinnom, and the lamentation and mourning as at Hadadrimmon. Almost every one is surprised that the masters generally should have left their homes in the possession of their slaves, while they went to fill up, beyond our boldest estimates, the rebel ranks. How dare they? We do not like the explanation, because it so cuts in upon our theories, and lectures, and lyceum debates, and political projects. But the fact of two years' growth to us is, that the slaves, physically, were so comfortable and contented, it was safe for the masters to leave them alone with the women and children at home. Now, we must square our theories and adjust our anti-slavery to this new revelation of facts. We must attack the system on its mental and moral, and social and civil curses. These are legion. The slave does not feel these, and is not uneasy. So he must be helped before he will help himself. Before he will rise, mental and moral, and social and civil forces must elevate him.

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* Probably the complimentary alcove in the British Museum, devoted exclusively to English editions and foreign translations of "Uncle Tom's Cabin," has done more to create a public opinion concerning the condition of the slave, than all the facts we have been able to smuggle abroad. Thus, the case has gone before the foreign public, as "Fact versus Fiction," and Fiction has gained the verdict. We have had the same difficulty in the North to obtain a judgment on facts.

THE SLAVE SEES NO WAY OF IMPROVING HIS CONDITION BY A VIOLENT CHANGE IN IT.

It is perfectly evident to us, and I think must be to the slave, that nobody wants him but the Southerner. The North gives him a cold hand at the best. The legislation of some of the free States is most violent and unjust towards him. Even our own State, with all her official and unofficial, and Faneuil Hall sympathy for the oppressed, cannot provide for five hundred contrabands through one winter.

Looked on as a northern laborer and neighbor and citizen, the North is opposed to the negro. Removal from the country is out of the question, for any large portion of them. They must live and labor where they are. For whom shall they labor? *The present owners of southern soil.* For to dispossess the owners of real estate in a population of eight millions, and constitute a new class of owners, is preposterous, absurd, impossible. Those slaves, if freed, must live among and labor for their present employers.

But if they take their liberty violently, can they afterward live there peaceably? Suppose we aid them in a servile insurrection and succeed, vast numbers of both masters and slaves must be slaughtered. Can we afterward make the bloody remnants of the two parties settle down happily and profitably together? Such a scheme is the wildest dream.

The untutored negro has good sense enough to comprehend this, and so is quiet. And he will remain so. The first day of January will be the same as the last day of December to him. True, he is in a terrible condition. Yet, so far as he can see, his master is the one whose good-will he should think the most of, as a matter of policy. He sees no way in which he can change his condition for the better. And we would be sensible, if we could pause in our thirty years' talking long enough to do a little practical thinking, that we have as yet proposed no practicable plan by which the negroes can improve their condition. To free them by their insurrection and our bayonets is possible; but it would sacrifice a large proportion of them, and the most of their more promising ones.* It would leave the survivors simply freed, without a country, without a policy of living, and without friends except the North, who have always given them the cold hand, when it has descended from theory to practice.

I know it is said that they can support themselves, because by their labor they have supported and enriched the South. But they have

* Since these lines were written, a Confederate Proclamation has foreshadowed the very thing I have here said. It has ordered that all slaves captured with arms in their hands shall be put to death.

done it under management. The labor of the Lowell and Lawrence operatives has built those cities. But how long will those cities thrive, or live, or give those operatives a living, if all the corporations dissolve, and the members withdraw from the business and places? In a very brief time but two things would remain there; poverty very distressing, and a water power.

I agree that, under management, the South would thrive much better under the free labor of its present slaves. But the practical difficulty, under present pressure, is to make a forced and bloody separation between masters and slaves, and a forced change from slave to free labor, and afterward provide the management of the freed laborers. Shall we change the present owners into future managers? What! by an insurrectionary and war process, under the direction of our Government? It is absurd. Peaceably we might; but by force, never. Shall we establish a system of Government managers for counties and plantations, and for the city and family services of the freed blacks? And by this shall the former owners of the slaves and the continued owners of the real estate, in the chafed and hostile mood in which the bloody revolution of the entire system must inevitably leave them, become the managers? No Government, short of the sternest military despotism, could do this. Shall we dispossess all the rebel owners of Southern property, and by Government sale introduce there new owners, that will favor and attempt to carry out this new scheme? In other words, shall we kill and crush and dispossess and disfranchise and drive into exile the larger part of eight millions of free whites? The thing is impossible, inhuman, and unchristian. It is worthy of the days of Tamerlane, the Saracens, or the French Revolution. The Christian world would not and ought not to allow it. Yet forced and sudden and general emancipation, must mean something like what I have indicated, if indeed its advocates have any definite plan beyond the simple freeing of the slaves.

All these things the slaves comprehend, more or less; and nothing hopeful opens to them. They can see nothing to be had by violence, better than their present condition affords, awful as it is. So they are quiet, and will remain so, in advance of our army.

That the leading rebels deserve some of these terrible inflictions, as exile, disfranchisement, poverty or death, I cordially agree. But the policy of punishment is one thing; the policy of the restoration of the Government, and peace and prosperity afterward, is another thing.

So have the experiences of the year and of the war been teaching us their lessons. We must be dull scholars, in a most expensive school, if we are not wiser. What, then, are some of our CONCLUSIONS?

BUT LITTLE FOREIGN AID OR SYMPATHY FROM FOREIGN ANTI-SLAVERY.

Foreign anti-slavery is no such practical sentiment as to oppose the South as fighting for a slave oligarchy, and favor us as standing for free labor. It was a cheap philanthropy for the slave, and cheap slurring our country for having an odious institution that England forced on us, till cotton rose and spindles stopped, and half-paid operatives filled their poor-houses. As cotton went up, their negro philanthropy went down. For a foreign power who thought our nation was becoming too large and too influential, it was a good thing to press this anti-slavery wedge between the North and the South. But when we pipe, they do not dance; and when we mourn, they do not lament. Nothing will please them but disunion; which with them means weakness and wasting—a beautiful vase broken into a thousand fragments, under the tramping of the nations as they ride over us.

This, then, is one of our conclusions. We are learning who our neighbors are. The Priest and the Levite have passed by. Russia makes us think of, and look for, the Samaritan.

NO VOLUNTARY AID FROM THE SLAVES BEYOND THE LINE OF OUR ARMY.

For, reasoning from the past, their condition must be doubtful within the circle of Northern sympathy and control. We do not yet tempt them with sufficient and certain prospects. Then they are not an uneasy, ambitious and warlike race. The camp and battle-field have but little attraction for them. If they rise, they foresee the certainty of death for the most of the leading ones. If an insurrection and union with us succeed, they cannot see how it is possible for them to settle down, as they prefer and must, among their old homes, while the remnants of families that they had partly destroyed, are neighbors, employers, and rulers over them. And so as to those beyond the line of our military power, we must not expect they will come to our aid. And being exceedingly doubtful how the war will end, they will not show uneasiness enough to keep their masters from the ranks of the rebel army. The slaves, as a body, will not aid us till such time as their service will be of but little use to us. As one of the rights of war we might, if we could, make them uneasy, and so draw home the rebel army. But what I claim as fact is, that we cannot do it. We cannot offer the slave sufficient and certain gain for it.

WE MUST TREAT THE SLAVES OF THE REBELS, WHEN IN OUR POSSESSION, AS ANY OTHER FORCE OR MATERIAL OF WAR.

Turn them as captured guns on the enemy. A rebel, by position and act, has forfeited all property, and it may lawfully become ours.

The forfeiture of all movable and personal property, as provisions, and other army supplies, stocks, horses, negroes and what not, should be *perpetual.* His real estate, after being cleaned of every thing usable by us, should be secured to his heirs. This, partly as justice, and partly in policy for the peace of coming generations. While the slaves, as any other interest of the rebels, are left to the chances of war, every endeavor lawful in war should be used to bring them within our lines. Then they should be no more returned than a captured cannon or a sack of wheat.

EMANCIPATION AS A LEADING POLICY AND END IN THE WAR, MUST CONSOLIDATE AND STRENGTHEN THE SOUTH.

For no one issue will unite them like this. They see, as we must, that a forced emancipation is the utter breaking up of Southern society. It means the destruction, to a great extent, of State constitutions and statutes, and municipal laws. It is resolving society there into its territorial state, and putting it under the laws and management of Congress as one of the territories. And it was a clear, far-reaching and wide-sweeping proposal made in the Senate a year ago, to reduce all the rebel States to the condition and hold them as a territory. The good sense of the Senate recoiled from so revolutionary a process, and rejected the bill. But the South understand that this is their doom in the emancipation process. Of course it makes them a unit in resistance. It develops and unites with a fearful intensity all their energies. And this will explain a fact that is constantly surprising us, that whenever we meet them their ranks are full, united, well officered, well fed, fairly clothed, well equipped and terribly in earnest. So is our emancipation policy impotent among the blacks, but most potent among the whites, of the South.

EMANCIPATION WHEN PROCLAIMED AND MADE UNALTERABLE FOR ANY REBEL TERRITORY, WILL LEAVE NO TEMPTATION TO LOYALTY AND PEACE.

No permission, no bonus is offered for loyalty. Rebellion after that day is the unpardonable sin, and hath never forgiveness. A party for the Government can never be started for that district. We cannot adopt the good policy — "Divide and conquer." If they give up, they lose; if they fight on, it is no worse. There is no gain in repentance — no loss in continued sinning. Must not such a policy protract the war exceedingly, if not indefinitely? With an area of territory equal to our own, fruitful, and rich in all the staples of national wealth, will not six or eight millions of whites, and three or four millions of blacks, consolidated in it, and familiar with all the vantage ground in it,

extend this war from sixty days to ten years? With such a policy, I fear that our present sacrifices of wealth and men and life, will prove but as the first sheaf in a wide harvest-field. While it becomes me to criticise with great self-distrust and hesitation a policy so popular, I cannot refrain from expressing the opinion, worthless though it may be, that our work would be shorter and vastly more economical of precious life, if we would proclaim the loss of all property to rebels whom we overpower on the line of the army, and the saving of all to those who yield before we come up with them.

EMANCIPATION BY INSURRECTION AND THE BAYONET MUST SACRIFICE MUCH OF THAT GOOD WHICH FOR THIRTY YEARS WE HAVE BEEN LABORING TO CONFER ON THE SLAVE.

In forcing their bonds many of them must perish, while the survivors are left to settle down among an exasperated people with whom they have had a bloody and victorious struggle. This is no hopeful state of things for the freed man. It will be another depressing and mournful fact in the very bitter and sad history of the African. The great fact is, and I can but name it and pass on, the terrible evils of slavery are *moral evils*, and *moral causes* must remove them. It is not the province of the sword to do it, if they are still to dwell among their former masters.

WE SEE THAT THE GREAT QUESTION CONCERNING THE COLORED MAN IN THIS COUNTRY HAS NOT YET BEEN GRAPPLED WITH.

The great question so far has been, What shall be done with slavery? But there is a vastly greater question: *What shall be done with the free negro?* It has been easy to answer the former and say, Abolish it. This was the only safe and Christian answer that could be given. Slavery was an enormity and an iniquity that must cease, yet under economical and moral forces, in their time of working. But if abolition is to be compelled, by military force, with no moral preparation in either party, or willingness in the master, and the two still be left together on some kind of equality, and in mutual dependence, the question, What shall be done with the freed negro, assumes a stupendous importance. No temporal question in this country equals it. Its difficulties are fearful. The talking men do not approach them. Philanthropy does not anticipate and propound and grapple with them. They do not seem to be thought of. And this question is forced on me: Will American anti-slavery fail the poor African in his hour of need, as English anti-slavery has? I am not willing to believe that failure is an essential element in anti-slavery, as soon as there is a chance for it to become practical. I have more faith in the gospel.

That practical opportunity, as it seems to me, we had when this rebellion opened. By striking simply and singly at rebellion, with the entire force of the nation, we could have crushed it. And while we said no more of slaves than of any creature or thing that the rebels used against us, but converted all against them as fast as we gained possession, slavery would have been smitten with a deadly blow. Under the chances of war, and forfeit when touched by the rights of war, it could not long have survived the death of its great ally, the rebellion. Ostensibly started in the interests of slavery, the suppression of the revolt must have resulted in the overthrow of this system of evils and sorrows. I hope the opportunity is not yet lost. If the nation will return to its legitimate purpose, to put down the rebellion, we may yet save the nation, and at the same time inflict a mortal blow on slavery, and keep it within our reach for others and the final one, when the highest good will warrant. But if we persist in making emancipation the main issue, I fear much the result will be, a short life to our nation and a long one to slavery. In our theoretical and political strategy the monster may elude our grasp, and through the gap of disunion, escape to more southern and wider fields, for the devastation of newly conquered states, stretching away from the Rio Grande to the equator.

But I weary you. I never gave an address more reluctantly. Nothing but a stern sense of duty could compel me to it. For weeks I have struggled against the public utterance of these views. I comfort myself, however, with the hope that I am in the advance of a better public sentiment. Failing in this hope, I comfort myself with the fear, (if indeed there can be any consolation in a fear,) that the mournful failure of the now popular policy, and so the failure of the Government to suppress the rebellion, will prove that I was right.

We must await the issue under an overruling and all-wise God.

Do you ask what, in the mean time, I would do? Sustain the Government by granting all it demands, and with all the cordiality I can muster. Because I am hopeless of a measure, I may not leave the Government helpless. I would press this war to the last extremity, under the lead of the Government. I would yield no foot of our soil. I believe there is no need of it. I would settle with no armed rebel. I would not mutilate the Constitution. I want all our Constitution, and all our territory, and all our citizens whom the sword may spare and justice pardon. I think it is right to fight for this, under the direction of the Government. I believe God will bless us in thus fighting for "the powers that be," and that "are ordained of" him. If we blunder in not keeping our eye single to make a permanent destruction of rebellion only, letting all other interests and issues

take the chances of war, I trust him to overrule our mistake. And I would press the war earnestly, as I do these views, under the deep and solemn conviction, that in pressing the war and the views, I am discharging one of the highest duties of practical Christianity. For if we fail in this struggle and allow dismemberment, it will be a failure for Christianity and civilization, such as the world never saw.